Personality

The field of psychology that considers the complexities of individual character is called personality. In exploring personality we ask such questions as: why do people work so hard to win elective office? Are the people who do well in campaigns the people who will make the best leaders? Once a person becomes president or prime minister is he or she likely to be pretty much the same person as before, or will he or she manifest a very different aspect of personality?

People have discussed the nature of personality for centuries. We have always been curious about the basic qualities of human nature, whether we are essentially good or bad, rational or irrational, skilled or incompetent. These questions about human nature and human differences were of concern to the ancients, and they continue to fascinate and challenge twentieth-century psychologists. The modern study of personality thrives today because it considers these basic questions: what are the basic qualities of people in general? What are the important differences between individuals? What are the differences between different kinds of people? In asking why individuals behave as they do, personality lies at the heart of psychology.

Personality can be defined as the unique patterning of behavioral and mental processes that characterizes an individual and the individual's interactions with the environment. The key word in the definition of personality is individual. Personality psychology is the study of individuals, with special emphasis on understanding what makes a person unique. Henry Murray once stated that every person is in some ways like all other people, in other ways like some other people, and in still other ways like no other person. While personality psychology considers all these aspects of the person, at present it gives more attention to how people differ.

Our goal in this unit is to understand what psychology can tell us about the psychological characteristics of the individual. Throughout history people have put forth various explanations of personality.

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The Psychodynamic Perspective

The work of Sigmund Freud and his followers makes up the specific psychodynamic perspective known as the **psychoanalytic theory of personality**. Freud explored people's unconscious motives and conflicts using the techniques of dream interpretation and free association. His central idea was that personality characteristics, including the symptoms of psychological disorders, grow out of unconscious conflicts about sexual and aggressive drives. In addition, Freud emphasized that personality is largely determined during the first 5 years of life, when the person develops characteristic ways of dealing with internal drives and conflicts.

The Structure of Personality

From his work with people suffering from various psychological disorders Freud developed a configuration of personality as composed of three different mental structures. He called these the id, the ego, and the superego. What a person thinks, feels, and does is a function of the actions or interactions of these three hypothetical structures. Freud proposed further that each of these structures develops at a different time.

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The Id

Freud held that at birth the child's personality consists solely of unconscious drives for pleasure and destruction. Freud called this hypothetical mental structure the **id**, that portion of the mind in which resides these instinctual drives. The id strives for immediate satisfaction of its drivers. According to Freud, this satisfaction is obtained by the elimination of tension. When the id's tensions accumulate, satisfaction is achieved by a reduction in tension levels.

Freud specified two ways in which the id tries to achieve the reduction of tension. One mechanism is reflex action, or simply responding reflexively to stimuli in the environment. For example, a child's sucking on a nipple is reflex action. This reflex reduces tension and quiets an aroused and unhappy child. A second mechanism that the id uses is **primary process thinking**, the type of thinking that involves creating a fantasy about the object or behavior that serves to reduce tension and satisfy the id's drives. For example, a child might fantasize about nursing in order to partially reduce tension. Not only children use primary-process thinking. College students engage in daydreaming sexual fantasies-sometimes during class and perhaps even while studying.

The Ego

Primary-process thinking alone cannot ensure the survival of the child. Imagining feeding is pleasurable, but it does not satisfy nutritional requirements. For this reason, a second mental structure, which Freud termed the ego, develops. The **ego** is that portion of the mind that is a largely conscious and reality oriented. It comprises information that the child perceives and remembers, along with the cognitive processes that develop to process this information, such as thinking, reasoning, and planning. The ego is conscious of what happens in the child's world and, by perceiving the difference between the child and the external environment, it is also responsible for the child's capacity for self-awareness.

One important characteristics of the ego is that it develops in order to help the id obtains real rather than imaginary satisfaction. It is able to do this because it follows the reality principle rather than the pleasure principle. The **reality principle** is the idea that behavior must be dictated by the constraints and demands of external reality as well as the desire to obtain complete and immediate satisfaction of drives. In attempting to follow the reality principle the ego uses **secondary-process thinking**, or realistic thinking, rather than simple fantasy, or primary-process thinking. Although it is more realistic than the id, the ego derives all its energy from the unconscious drives of the id and exists only to find effective ways of satisfying those drives. In short, the id is not suitably adapted to satisfy its own drives. The ego, on the other hand, is a reality-oriented mental structure that develops out of early experience to help the id obtain satisfaction.

The Superego

The ego has to consider more than reality in obtaining satisfaction for the id. During the phallic period, which we will discuss later, the third major structure of the personality develops. This structure is called the **superego** and it contains moral principles and values that have been acquired from the child's parents and society. It actually consists of two subparts. One part is the conscience, which contains moral prohibitions against certain behaviors, especially those expressing the sexual and aggressive drives of the id. The other part of the superego is the ego-ideal. This is the image of what one ideally can be and how one ought to behave. We can think of the conscience as containing dictates about what is immoral, or about what one should not do, and the ego-ideal as containing models about what is moral, or about what one should do.

The Key Role of the Ego

If you have the feeling that the ego is caught in the middle, you are correct. It is this rational, reality-oriented portion of the personality that directs behavior. Unless it is over- whelmed by id tensions or superego dictates, the ego determines final decision and actions. But in doing so it must provide some gratification for the id's drives and must also act within the moral constraints of the superego. Furthermore, it must choose behaviors that fit the constraints of reality. It is the executive of the personality but it must serve three masters: the id, the superego, and external reality.

Conscious, Preconscious, and Unconscious Regions

Freud felt that the three structures of personality-the id, ego, and superego-function within overlapping portions of the conscious, preconscious, and unconscious regions of the mind.

As noted before, the id is unconscious. Its drives operate only in unconscious form. The ego is largely conscious but has preconscious and unconscious portions as well. The preconscious portion of the mind contains thoughts, memories, and other kinds of information that are not conscious but that can easily be brought into consciousness. In addition, a portion of the ego is unconscious. This portion contains the ego-defense mechanisms, which we will discuss shortly. The superego contains all three areas-its dictates can be felt in consciousness, or they can be preconscious, or they can operate unconsciously.

The Development of Personality

The energy the id produces to obtain pleasure is called **libido**. The id strives to obtain pleasure by reducing tension. Freud believed that at different ages, human beings experience tension most intensely in different areas of the body. Known as **erogenous zones**, these areas require pleasure-producing stimulation to reduce or eliminate the tension. Freud named thee different psychological stages of development according to the zone that at a particular age is most sensitive to tension and most in need of tension-reducing stimulation.

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The Oral Stage

Freud proposed that during the first 18 months of life, the most sensitive zone is the mouth. Thus the first stage is called the **oral stage**, the period in which the mouth experience the most tension and requires the most tension-reducing stimulation. The id strives to reduce tension in and around the mouth by sucking, even on a thumb or pacifier. The first thing that the child perceives and remembers is often related to feeling or obtaining care and feeding from parents.

The Anal Stage

At about the age of 18 months, the child enters the **anal stage** when the locus of gratification changes to the anal region. The child derives satisfaction from stimulation in the anal region, either from the retention or elimination of feces. Also, parents begin to toilet train their children at this age. Parents want to control when and where the child eliminates feces. Given the child's desires, this imposition of control comes at exactly the wrong time. A child's pleasure in retaining or eliminating feces at his or her choice of time and place can lead to conflict with the parents' efforts to dictate new times and places.

The Phallic Stage

At about the age of 3 or 4 years, the child enters the **phallic stage** during which the genitals become the most sensitive area, and the child derives pleasure from manipulating them. Again, there is likely to be

conflict with parental wishes. Parents typically try to curb behaviors such as masturbation or at least confine them to private settings.

Whether or not there is conflict about masturbation, the phallic stage is marked by the **Oedipus or Electra complexes**, a set of desires that produce conflicts and discord within the family. The Oedipus complex is experienced by boys, and the Electra complex by girls. Both Oedipus and Electra are names derived from Greek drama. Oedipus Rex, for example, is a play by Sophocles about a man who fulfills a prophecy that he will kill his father and marry his mother. Freud's theories about these complexes are among his most central, yet controversial, ideas.

Freud proposed that all children experience a desire to have a sexual relationship with their parents of the opposite sex. Boys want to have a sexual relationship with their mothers, and girls with their fathers. These sexual wishes are one key aspect of the Oedipus and Electra complexes. The second key aspect of these complexes is a related wish-to eliminate the parent of the same sex, who stands as a rival for the affections of the opposite-sex parent. For example, a young boy may wish that his father were dead so that he could have his mother to himself.

Like other desires emanating from the id, the Oedipus and Electra complexes are unconscious. The ego fears the consequences of expressing them and realizes that these drives cannot be satisfied directly. As a result, it holds the original sexual wish in the unconscious and seeks partial satisfaction for it. The ego obtains partial satisfaction by identifying with the parent satisfaction by identifying with the parent of the same sex, the parent who has been the rival. Boys try to be as much like their fathers as they can, and girls try to be like their mother. By being similar to the same-sex parent, children can vicariously enjoy the love that the opposite-sex parent expresses for the same-sex parent. For example, a little girl might be as much like her mother as possible and then enjoy the fact that she is very similar to the one the father loves. This process is known as identification.

In identifying with a parent, an important part of the personality is set in place. Many of our characteristics ways of behaving are determined by our identification with our mothers and fathers. One specific aspect of identifying with a parent is adopting, or introjecting, their values and morals. These incorporated values and morals form the third part of the personality, the superego. When the Oedipal conflict is resolved and the superego has been formed through incorporation of parental morality, the major structures of the personality are in place and the phallic stage is over.

The Latency Period

Freud proposed that once that phallic stage is over, at about age 5, there is a long **latency period** during which no major unconscious drives press the ego for satisfaction. This period extends through late childhood to puberty. During this time children may learn a good deal about the world around them, other people, and their own skills, capacities, and interests. However, there is little pressure from the id and little internal conflicts.

The genital stage

When the young person reaches puberty, or sexual maturation, he or enters the final stage of development. This is the **genital stage** during which the person feels strong and adult sexual desires for the first time. There may also be a reawakening of old oedipal sexual and aggressive feelings. From this point on, the ego will have to work hard to balance the demands of the id for sexual gratification with the constraints of reality and the prohibitions and exhortations of the superego. The adult personality reflects how well the ego manages to do this.

The Concept of Fixation

We have noted in discussing Freud's stages of development that the desires of the id change from age to age. However, Freud noted that sometimes individual never lose their desire for a particular kind of gratification, such as oral stimulation. When this happens, the person is said to be fixated. **Fixation** is thus a failure of development in which the individual continues to seek a particular kind of gratification even after he or she has passed through the stage in which that kind of pleasure normally is sought.

What causes fixation? According to Freud, when a child is either extremely frustrated in the pursuit of a pleasure, or over gratified, he or she may become fixated. The person then becomes continuously concerned with obtaining the pleasure, and this concern becomes an enduring personality characteristics. For example, a person fixated at the oral stage will show continuous concern with getting some kind of oral gratification. Such a person might engage in behaviors that give direct oral stimulation, such as smoking or chewing on pencils, or the person might symbolically pursue oral gratification. For example, he or she might want to acquire a lot of money or knowledge, which may be compared to taking in nourishment through the mouth during the oral stage. A person fixated on the pleasure of expelling feces in the anal stage might be extremely sloppy, late and disorganized as an adult. A person fixated on the pleasure of retaining feces might be excessively neat or orderly as an adult. Such a person might also be miserly, withholding money just a he or she withheld feces as a child. In short, the concept of fixation was Freud's way of explaining how important psychological characteristics and individual differences in personality develop.

The Ego-Defense Mechanisms

As the "executive" of the personality, the ego strives to direct behavior in ways that satisfy the id, the superego, and the demands of reality. In attempting to achieve this goal, the ego develops several defense mechanisms. These **ego-defense mechanisms** are unconscious strategies used by the ego to shield itself from threatening perceptions, feelings, and impulses. The defense mechanisms help keep the demands of the id and the dictates of the superego under control. In doing so, they reduce feelings of anxiety and keep other feelings, such as guilt, conflict, and anger, from overwhelming the ego. However, the ways of behaving and viewing he world that result from these mechanisms are not always effective or realistic. The defense mechanism can be divided into three groups: (1) the behavior-channeling defense mechanisms, (2) the primary reality-distorting mechanism, and (3) the secondary reality distorting mechanisms.

Behavior Channeling Defenses

The three behavior-channeling defenses are identification, displacement, and sublimation. These mechanisms direct behavior in ways that protect the person from conflict, anxiety, or harm. For the most part, they produce realistic behavior that the person feels is moral.

Identification, first used in resolving the Oedipal conflict, involves attempting to resolve conflicts about one's behavior by identifying with another person who appears successful, realistic, and moral-trying to act as much like that person as possible. Freud regarded identification as a relatively healthy defense mechanism. Conflicts about behavior are generally accompanied by anxiety. By resolving conflicts, identification also reduces anxiety.

Displacement directs aggressive behavior away from someone or something that has aroused anger toward someone against whom it is both safe and morally acceptable to aggress. For example, a man who has been angered by his boss might fear being hostile toward him and might therefore honk his horn at a fellow commuter on the way home, shout at his wife, ridicule his son, or kick his dog. In all of

these instances, he is displacing aggression in a way that he feels is safe and acceptable.

Sublimation entails expressing drives for pleasure or aggression in socially acceptable ways. In this way, the id obtains partial satisfaction while the superego's dictates are followed. For example, a person might sublimate his sexual drives into painting highly respectable representations of nudes. Aggressive drives might be channeled into studying military history or playing contact sports. Freud felt that sublimation was extremely important for civilized existence and social achievement.

Primary Reality-Distorting Defenses

One of the most basic ways the ego protects itself from feelings or perceptions that cause anxiety is simply not to feel or perceive them. The two defense mechanisms that protect the ego by keeping threatening feelings or perceptions out of awareness are repression and denial. They are called primary reality-distorting mechanisms because they are the first line of defense. They protect the ego from even being aware of threats.

Repression entails blocking from awareness unacceptable unconscious drives such as sexual feelings or impulses, aggressive thoughts or wishes, or feelings of guilt emanating from the superego. For example, a person who feels guilty for cheating on an exam may simply repress these feelings and not consciously experience them.

Denial is the defense mechanism used to keep threatening perceptions of the external world, rather than internal drives and feelings, out of awareness. For example, a person living in California may simply refuse to admit that earthquake threaten his life and home, or a smoker may deny that cigarettes are hazardous to her health.

Secondary Reality-Distorting Defenses

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Repression and denial simply push threatening feelings and perceptions out of awareness. However, other defense mechanism often are called into play following denial or repression. The three secondary reality-distorting mechanisms we will discuss are projection, reaction formation, and rationalization.

Projection involves perceiving personal characteristics in other people that you cannot admit in yourself. For example, a man might repress his own sexual feelings toward his brother's wife and then project feelings onto her. Thus, the man will perceive that his brother's wife is sexually interested in him. Another common example is for people to project feelings of anger felt toward others onto those other people. A student who is angry with her roommate might project here anger and perceive the roommate as angry or hostile.

Reaction formation is consciously feeling or acting the strong opposite of one's true unconscious feelings because the true feelings are threatening. For example, a girl who hates her father may repress those feelings and consciously experience strong feelings of affection for him instead. These feelings are due to reaction formation.

Rationalization, a very common defense mechanism, involves generating a socially acceptable explanation for behavior that may be caused by unacceptable drives. For example, a person may rationalize aggression by saying that another person deserved to be punished or harmed. A man may rationalize sexually harassing a woman by telling himself that she really wants to have sex with him, even if she does not admit it.

Neo-Freudian Perspectives

Freud's work has generated a great deal of controversy, and more importantly, a great deal of theory formulation. In this section we will discuss the theories of three psychologists, Alfred Adler, Karen Horney, and Erich Fromm. Their views are basically sympathetic to Freud's but they are critical of his assumptions about the principal motives that guide human behavior. These three, and others such as Harry Stack Sulllivan and Erik Erikson, are often referred to as neo-Freudians. They accept the importance of unconscious motives and conflicts but doubt that all of them are related to sex or aggression.

Alfred Adler

Adler was a follower of Freud who later developed his own extensive theory of personality. In his theory, Adler discussed two important motives. First, he discussed a drive for power, which he later called a **drive for superiority**. This drive often emanates from having an **inferiority complex** at an early age, a feeling that one does not measure up to one's peers. The superiority drive did not mean that people want to dominate each other. Rather, it signified that each of us tries to be as superior, in the sense of excellent or perfect, as possible. Adler also believed that people have social interest, a desire to help construct the best possible society. This concept of **social interest** was a major departure from Freudian theory. Whereas Freud emphasized the self-interestedness of human motivation, Adler believed that people have a genuine concern for others.

Erich Fromm

Erich Fromm was another follower of Freud who proposed his own theory of human motives. Fromm believed that people are principally motivated by a **need for relatedness** with other people and unity with the world, rather than by sexual needs. He argued that through the centuries, as individuals became freer and more independent, they also became more isolated, resulting in the unconscious desire for unity. This drive underlies many kinds of love, religious beliefs, and political philosophies, all of which offer unity with others.

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Karen Horney

Karen Horney was an important critic of Freud who attempted to identify both the valuable and questionable aspects of Freud's theory. Like Adler and Fromn, she believed that sex and aggression are not the primary human motives. Instead, she argued that the **primary need is for security**. The need for security arises out of "**basic anxiety"**, a generalized fear stemming from feeling alone and threatened during childhood. As a result of basic anxiety, people spend a great deal of time seeking safety or security. Sometimes this involves hiding spontaneous feelings that might be frowned on by others. Horney felt that people must overcome their basic anxiety so that they can spend more energy exploring inner feelings and desires, rather than seeking safety.

The Freudian theory: An Evaluation

Freud's two great contributions to psychology were (1) to suggest that behavior is strongly determined by unconscious sexual and aggressive drives interacting with the constraints of reality and the dictates of morality, and (2) to suggest that childhood events, such as the resolution of the Oedipus complex, strongly shape the personality. Freud's distinct view of personality was that it was determined by fixations, identification with parental figures in childhood, and behavior and thinking patterns derived from the use of defense mechanisms. How do psychologists today evaluate these views?

There is no doubt that Freudian theory very much influences the way people in our culture think about personality and behavior. People commonly talk about individuals being repressed or fixated, as lacking in ego strength, or having a rigid superego. However, there is less agreement among psychologists themselves about the value or correctness of Freud's ideas. Few psychologists would agree with Freud that people are predominantly motivated by sex and aggression. On the other hand, many would agree that unconscious drives of many kinds, and conflicts about these drives, strongly affect personality. Others claim that Freud's theories are of little value. Some claim that his ideas are highly implausible, and some argue that his theories cannot be adequately tested. Still other argue that his theories generalize too much from disturbed patients, that they cannot be applied to other people.

But despite these criticisms, psychoanalytic theory is still developing, and new research often supports the usefulness of many of Freud's ideas. This has prompted one psychologist, Lloyd Silverman, to write regarding psychoanalytic theory, "The reports of may death are greatly exaggerated". Research by Silverman and others shows that the psychoanalytic approach is very much alive. For example, a recent study of repression shows that speech disturbances during the discussion of highly emotional topics improve right after brief instances of forgetting. The repression, shown by forgetting, temporarily reduces anxiety which in turn leads to speech that is less halting. Similarly, recent studies and reviews of research support many psychoanalytic concepts, such as evidence for clusters of "oral" and "anal" traits.

Exploring Personality Dynamics: Projective Test

According to Freudian and other psychodynamic theories, understanding people's personalities may require indirect methods to get information about unconscious motives and conflicts, which subjects cannot report directly. One way to gain this kind of access is to use a projective test.

The Assumptions of Projective Testing

The word projective holds the key to understanding these tests. In general **projective tests** are based on the assumption that people will project their needs, feelings, and conflicts onto ambiguous stimuli. Thus, many psychologists believe that if people are asked to respond to ambiguous stimuli such as inkblots or drawings, to give their associations to words, or to draw objects without specific instructions, their responses will reveal these unconscious needs, feelings, and conflicts. For example, if a woman is asked to say the first word that comes into her mind when she hears the word "mother," the answer will give a clue about her unconscious concerns. Thus, the response "rage" could be an indication of hostility between the subjects and her mother. Two of the best-known projective tests are the Rorschach test and the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT).

1) Rorschach's Test

In 1911 a Swiss psychiatrist named Hermann Rorschach published the first in a series of studies later compiled in a book called Psycho-diagnostics. These studies reported Rorschach's investigation of psychiatric patient's responses to ambiguous inkblots. Rorschach assumed that patients' perceptions of these ambiguous figures would reveal a great deal about their personalities and their manner of thinking. Unfortunately, Rorschach died at a young age, long before his work was complete. However, other psychiatrist and psychologists who were interested in projective testing continued his work.

Rorschach's test consist of 10 symmetrical inkblots, which are presented to subjects on cardboard cards. As you might imagine, different individuals see many different kind of objects in this and other cards. Some cards generate certain common responses called "populars". Popular responses include witches, clowns, monkey, cannibals, bats, Indian, baby faces, and climbing animals. In a Rorschach test, it is always assumed that people's responses reflect their particular needs, feelings, and conflicts. For

example, a psychologist would take note if a person saw blood and destruction in many different cards.

The interpretation of responses is based on various scoring systems and an examiner's experience, that is, his or her careful comparison of one person's response with those of many other people. Among the variables that are considered are the number of responses, how much human form is seen, and the ways colors are perceived.
Many psychologists are satisfied that an experienced practitioner can make valid inferences using this test. However, because there is no agreed way to interpret any particular set of responses, the Rorschach test has been widely criticized. Some psychologists feel it constitutes little more than reading "tea leaves".

Empirical studies have also questioned the reliability and validity of the Rorschach test. Subjects often give different responses when tested at different times, indicating low retest reliability. In addition, different psychologists make different inferences about an individual's personality based on the same responses. On the other hand, other studies show that the Rorschach can assess personality dimensions such as introversion-extraversion, anxiety, aggressiveness, and defensiveness, especially in regard to present functioning.

2) The Thematic Apperception Test

Another projective test that seems somewhat less mysterious than Rorschach's inkblot test is one that was developed by Christiana Morgan and Henry Murray. This test is called the Thematic Apperception Test or TAT. The test is composed of 19 pictures of people with ambiguous expression in ambiguous situations and 1 blank card. The term apperception refers to the contention that people being tested do more than perceive what is there. They apperceive, which means that they bring own interpretations into play in understanding the pictures. It is assumed that what people apperceive in the TAT cards will reflect central themes or motives, concerns, interests, and fears in their personalities.

Subject are asked to look at this and other cards and to make up stories about what is going on in each picture. They are told each story should have a separate beginning, middle, and end, as well as a clear conclusion.

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One key assumption about the test is that the subjects will identify with one of the figures in each picture, and will make this person the central figure or "hero". Then, many of the subject's own feelings will be projected onto this person. For example, if several heroes in a subject's stories have difficulties with their fathers or are extremely worried about sexual relations, an examiner might suppose that these matters are important problems for the subject.

The TAT is open to the same kinds of criticisms as the Rorschach. There are no objectively established criteria for interpreting overall personality structure from the TAT, and its reliability and validity have been challenged. Still, many experienced psychologists do feel that they get a great deal of information from TAT stories, and recent studies have supported their validity in measuring an individual's needs.

The Traits and Type Perspective

Trait perspective rejects the psychodynamic view that personality characteristics reflect unconscious drives, conflicts, fixations, and defenses. It assumes that personalities are defined by the various combinations of traits people possess. **Traits** are relatively stable characteristics of a person that can be measured. The traits perspective assumes that people's behavior in many different situations will reflect these personal traits. That is, behavior is generally caused by internal factors, traits, rather than external pressures and situations. Furthermore, this approach assumes that the appropriate way to study

personality is to measure the amount of various traits that people possess, rather than inferring their unconscious needs, and fears with projective tests.

Modern trait theories grew out of earlier type theories. Type theories and trait theories differ in two key respects. First, type theories focused more on groups, such as extraverts, while trait theories emphasize individuals, some of whom may have high degrees of extraversion. Second, type theories assumed people fall into one particular category or another-they are either introverts or they are extraverts. On the other hand, trait theorists do not categorize individuals but assume that a given person may have any amount of a particular trait. Someone may be highly introverted, somewhat extraverted.

Type Theories

Type theorists assume that individual can be assigned to one of a small number of types or groups. All individuals within each type are assumed to be similar to each other on dimensions that define the type, and they are assumed to be quite different from individuals of another type. For example, a type theorist would hold that active and passive people form two groups and that members of each group share many similarities.

One representative type theory was proposed by one of Sigmund Freud's most distinguished followers, the Swiss analyst **Carl G. Jung**. As a young physician, Jung admired Freud's work and began to research Freud's theory of dreams. In time, Jung became Freud's close colleague and was the heir apparent to the psychoanalytic school. However, after 1909, when Freud and Jung visited the United States together, both theoretical and personal differences separated them. From 1914 to 1939, when Freud died, they never communicated again. After their split, Jung went on to develop his own extensive and sophisticated theoretical system and published many books, one of which, Psychological Types, is relevant here.

In this book, Jung presented the idea that people could be grouped into one of two basic types, introverts and extraverts, on the basis of their attitude. Attitude was Jung's term for an individual's orientation toward experience. People who are introverted can be thought of as looking inward, while extraverts can be thought of as looking outward. The **introvert** is generally shyer and more withdrawn, cares less about other people, and is more oriented toward his or her own inner experiences. **Extraverts** are more oriented toward the people, objects, and events around them, and are more relaxed and cheerful around other people.

In addition, Jung discussed four functions, Jung's term for the ways the individual reacts to experience. **Sensation and intuition** are methods of taking in information about the world. Sensation refers to use of the five senses to perceive objects and persons. Intuition is going beyond the five senses to seek the ultimate philosophical meaning of experience and its potential. Two other functions, **thinking and feeling**, are used to make judgments about experience. Thinking refers to the use of reason in making judgments, while feeling refers to the use of emotions and values.

Generally, each individual will tend to rely primarily on one function, although Jung felt that the other functions could develop as the person matured. Combining the distinction between the introversion-extraversion attitude with the four functions produces **eight types** in all, such as the introverted-feeling type. Interestingly, Jung considered himself an introverted-intuitive type.

Jung's work was an ambitious attempt to understand personality in terms of the characteristics of different types of people. However, the trait perspective has changed considerably since Jung's early work. We will see how in the next section on trait theories.

Trait Theories

The primary assumption of any trait theory is that personality can be described in terms of how much of various traits individuals possess. It considers many different traits and the unique combinations that characterize individuals. Most modern trait theories owe a great deal to the pioneering work of Gordon Allport. Allport contributed to the study of individuals and their traits from the 1930s through the 1960s.

Allport's Trait Theory

Allport thought of traits as internal structures that direct the behavior of an individual in consistent and characteristics ways. He distinguished several different kinds of traits. First, he distinguished **common traits** from **unique traits,** depending on whether they characterized many people or few. Second, he distinguished **cardinal**, **central**, and **secondary traits**, depending on how pervasively they manifested themselves in an individual's personality.

Common traits are characteristics such as friendliness or dominance, which are common to many people and by which individuals can be compared. For example, responsibility is a common trait. One can measure the extent to which different people show it. More important than common traits, Allport felt, were what he called unique traits. These are unusual traits or trait combinations that characterize individuals and given them their unique personalities. They can include a particular style of humor or wit, a unique kind of ebullience and optimism, or a deep and crude cynicism and hostility that is shown under pressure.

Both common and unique traits can be either cardinal, central, or secondary, depending on how pervasively they are manifested. The most pervasive of a person's characteristics are said to be cardinal traits. These traits direct behavior in consistent ways in many situations and thus make those situations "functionally equivalent". That is, a cardinal trait leads a person to behave in similar ways in very different situations. For one individuals, assertiveness may be a cardinal trait. Such a person might be loud and active with a friend, authoritative with a subordinate in a work situation, bold and outgoing with strangers, self-satisfied when praised. Thus, if assertiveness is a cardinal trait, it will show up in many different situations and will be an enduring characteristics of the person.

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People generally have only one cardinal trait, if any, but several central and secondary traits. Central traits are similar to cardinal traits but are not as consistently manifested. Some common central traits are shyness, optimism, cheerfulness, and introversion. There are unique central traits as well. Secondary traits are only seen in particular situations or at particular times. They are important characteristics of individuals, but they are not as pervasive as central or cardinal traits. Instead, they help give a more complete picture of the person.

Eysenck's Studies of Personality Traits

Hans Eysenck is an English psychologist who has spend the last four decades studying the basic dimensions of personality. Using the techniques of **factor analysis** to analyze many measures of personality, behavior, and self-reported feelings are beliefs, Eysenck conclude that there are two basic dimensions of personality. The first is the key dimension identified many years before by Jung, **introversion** versus **extraversion,** but Eysenck defines these traits slightly differently. Introversion according to Eysenck is composed of reserve, lack of sociability, caution, and emotional control. Extraversion is composed of sociability, activity, daring, and expressiveness. There may be few, if any, perfect introverts or extraverts, but there is an introversion-extraversion dimension. People may be near one of the extremes or at any point between them.

Eysenck's second dimension is stability versus instability, sometimes called **neuroticism.** The stable individual is well adjusted, calm, relaxed, and easygoing. The unstable or neurotic person is moody, anxious, restless, and temperamental. Different individuals can be characterized on the basis of how much introversion-extraversion and how much stability they show in their personalities. All of your friends and classmates can be located on these dimensions. The different personality characteristics that Eysenck has classified along the two dimensions of stability and introversion extraversion.

In his subsequent work Eysenck has proposed a third dimension. Namely, **Psychotism**, which he believes interacts with the above mentioned two dimension. A person who scores high on psychotism dimension tend to be hostile, egocentric, and anti-social. Others often treat him or her as ppeculiar.

Eysenck is also considered a type theorist. He has argued that while people do show large number of traits, their traits are clustered into two main personality types i.e., **extravert** and **introvert**, The extroverts are outgoing, active, sociable and impulsive. They are tough-minded people.

The introverts are withdrawn, cautious, reflective and passive. They are tenderminded. The extroverts are more found to be alert and have more sensation-seeking tendency. They learn better when aroused. They have higher level of brain chemical dopamine. They are more suggestible. The introvert students prefer to study in quiet places, with few interruptions, and are cautions. They do better in schools. They learn farter under low arousal. They have low threshold for pain.

Cattell's Basic Personality Traits

Psychologists Raymond B. Cattell has been an active investigator of personality traits for many years. He has been concerned with identifying the traits that people share and the traits that make them distinct and has argued that it is very important to find ways of measuring personality traits. He has gathered many measures of traits through behavioral observation, records of people's life histories, questionnaires, and objective tests. He has then used factor analysis to assess these traits. In his work, Cattell found that two different kinds of traits, **surface traits** and **source traits**, underlie individual differences in personality.

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Surface traits are reflected in consistent patterns of behavior, such as curiosity, altruism, and realism. The deeper source traits give rise to surface traits. These are characteristics such as dominance of submissiveness, and ego-strength, the capacity to withstand pressure. In various combinations and interactions, these source traits cause people to display surface traits. For example, an individual with dominance and ego-strength as source traits might show surface traits such as persistence and leadership in decision-making situations. An individual with these source traits might have the surface traits of a good military commander.

On the basis of his extensive research, Cattell concluded that 16 basic source traits underlie individual differences in behavior. Cattell has developed a questionnaire that measure how people stand on these traits.

Evaluation of the Trait Perspective

The findings of Eysenck and Cattell are consistent with Jung's introversion-extraversion distinction and other research that has attempted to define the basic traits dimensions of personality. For example Norman has found the following qualities to be basic traits: extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability, and cultural interest.

Despite these consistent findings, social learning theorists, whom we will discuss in the next section,

have recently criticized the trait perspective. They feel behavior is caused more by external factors, or the characteristics of specific situations, than by internal factors, or personality traits. Allport argued that traits render situations functionally equivalent, and that people will consistently manifest their traits in different situations. The critics, as we shall see, argue that this has not been empirically demonstrated. For example, the critics argue that labeling an individual "aggressive" or "responsible" does not really predict how he or she will act in a specific situation. Will an aggressive woman blow her horn in traffic jams, be rude to waitresses, or be insensitive to her employees? The critics of the trait approach suggest that the answer is probably "not always". They feel that human beings are too unpredictable for the simple listing of traits to have much meaning.

Is people's behavior consistently related to personality traits?

In this section we will consider four different kinds of research that address the questions of whether people's behavior is consistently related to personality traits. This research considers whether people behave consistently over time, whether they behave consistently across situations, whether some people are more consistent than others, and whether people are consistent if both traits and situations are considered together.

Consistency across Time

The most impressive evidence in support of traits theory comes from longitudinal studies of how people behave over a long time period. An important study of 100 subjects who were tested and retested over 25 years found high levels of consistency on some important traits. Men showed consistent levels of dependability, emotional control, and aesthetic interest. Women showed the same degrees of submissiveness, gregariousness, and nonconformity over time. Thus, according to these studies, people are consistent. However, such studies do not show that we are all consistent all the time in all ways. People generally may be consistent over time, that they behave the same way in different situations.

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Inconsistency across Situations

One of the leading critics of the trait approach has been Stanford University psychologist **Walter Mischel**. Mischel reviewed research on people's behavior in different situations and found that there is a rather low degree of consistency. For example, the person who is honest in one situation, for example, school, may not be honest at home. Similarly, people can show varying amounts of other traits, such as dependency and self-control, in different situations. Mischel also reported that the correlation between a people's standing on personality tests and his or her behavior in specific situations is often very low. That is, even if a person has a high score on a trait like extraversion, you cannot be sure that he or she will wave to a neighbor.

More recent work by Mischel shows that while self-control and adaptive behavior generally vary across situations so that individuals respond effectively to the changing demands of the environment, there is some cross-situational consistency when people are highly stressed. When demands in situations exceed their abilities, people may respond consistently with certain non-adaptive behaviors such as aggression or withdrawal.

Mischel's work suggests that an individual's high or low standing on various traits is not always a good predictor of behavior. Many other factors determine how people act. One of these factors is individual differences in consistency.

Individual Differences in Consistency

When you think of specific people, for example, your father, your best friend, or you favorite professor, you do not think of how they stand on all the traits that researchers have investigated. Rather, you tend to think of them in terms of several conspicuous traits and trait combinations. Perhaps it's your father's smile, his unending patience, and his ability to become even more calm and caring in stressful situations. You would expect him to be consistently patient in many different situations but perhaps not consistently happy or outgoing. In other words, we expect certain people to be consistent in certain ways but not in others. **Bem** and **Allen** have conducted research showing just this kind of consistency-different people are consistent, and inconsistent, in different ways.

Bem and Allen asked subjects whether they considered themselves consistent on various traits. For example, some subjects said that they were consistently friendly but not consistently conscientious. Others said the opposite. Some people felt consistent on both traits, some on neither. Bem and Allen found that those who described themselves as consistently friendly were indeed consistent in various situations. Reports from these subjects parents and peers correlated highly with ratings obtained from direct observation of subject's behavior. For people who did not rate themselves as consistently friendly, the correlation between reports by others and direct observation was much lower, about the level found by Mischel.

What does the research into consistency tell us? People are probably consistent in some ways but not in others. The ways in which they are consistent, and perhaps inconsistent, give people their individuality. Although traits can be shown consistently across time and situation, knowing a person's traits does not allow us to predict behavior in every situation. In order to understand fully how people behave, we need to consider both the person and the situation.

Considering Both Person and Situation

Work by **Magnusson** and **Endler** suggests that three key factors must be taken into account in order to fully predict behavior. First, we must consider the traits of the person. Is the individual often hostile and aggressive, generally kind, or perhaps anxious? Second, we need to consider the situations as perceived by the person. Does the person perceive a situation to be threatening or merely competitive? Finally, we need to ask how the person generally manifests particular traits in particular situations. That is, what is the person's characteristic mode of response to a given situation? For example, Endler and Hunt and Endler and Rosenstein have identified 14 different manifestation of anxiety in various situations. These reaction include perspiration, immobilization, nausea, and dry mouth. Their research shows that people's behavior in a particular situation can be predicted accurately if we know their traits, how they perceive the situation, and how they characteristically manifests their traits in such situations need to be considered, as well as how varied the expressions of a trait can be.

New Advances: Five-Factor Model of Personality

In recent years the controversy regarding the number of basic personality traits has taken an interesting turn. The new picture that emerges consists of five-factors. **Paul Costa** and **Robert McCrae** have done extensive research on all the possible personality traits. They found that all the findings indicate a set of five-factors. They are often called big five. These factors are described below.

1. **Openness to experience:** Those who score high on this factor are imaginative, curious, open to new ideas and interested in cultural pursuits. In contrast, the low scoring people are rigid.
2. **Extroversion:** It characterizes people who are socially active, assertive, outgoing, talkative, and

fun loving. It is opposite of shy.

3. **Agreeableness:** This factor represents the traits of people who are helpful, cooperative, friendly, caring, and nurturing. It is the opposite of hostile and being self-centered.
4. **Neuroticism:** people scoring high on this factor are emotionally unstable, anxious, worried, fearful, distressed, irritable, hypertensive. Its opposite is well adjusted.
5. **Conscientiousness:** Those who display high degree of this factor are achievement-oriented, dependable, responsible, prudent, hardworking, self-controlled. Its opposite is impulsive.

   This model has been considered as an important theoretical development. It is also found useful in understanding the personality profile of people in many cultures. Also, it is consistent with the analysis of personality traits found in different languages and supported by the studies of personality through different methods. It is now considered to be the most promising empirical approach to the study of personality.

The Behavioral theory of personality

That fundamental assumption of the behavioral perspective on personality is that the characteristics of individuals result from external events, especially reinforcement. As a result of external forces, people learn specific patterns of behavior in specific situations and generalize them to similar situations. Also, the behavioral perspective does not assume that people will be consistent. They may learn quite different patterns of behavior in different situation. Furthermore, though patterns of behavior learned early in life may persist, personality is not necessarily stable. People can have new experience and learn new patterns of behavior that will change their personality. The behavioral view of personality as constellations of learned behaviors maintained by reinforcement was a reaction to the Freudian approach, which postulated unobservable, unverifiable psychic structure and dynamics. It also contrasts sharply with both the psychodynamic and trait perspectives in its contention that changeable, external factors rather than stable, internal factors shape personality and behavior.

1. **B.F. Skinner's Radical Behaviorism**

One of the most forceful proponents of the behavioral approach is B.F. Skinner. Skinner, whose views are rooted in J.B. Watson's philosophy of behaviorism, argues that we can make a great deal of progress in understanding people by focusing exclusively on their behavior and the external forces that have shaped it throughout their lives.

Skinner's key concept is that behavior is determined by its consequences. Skinner's movement, the experimental analysis of behavior, uses the concepts of reinforcement, generalization, and extinction to explain in detail how behavior is shaped by consequences. The most important factor in shaping behavior, according to Skinner, is reinforcement. For example, a young boy who is reinforced for sharing rather than taking toys for himself will learn to share toys. Next, the boy may generalize his tendency to share toys and thereby share and cooperate in many other situations. Furthermore, even if his sharing behavior does not receive immediate reinforcement in every situation, it may still persist because it is on a schedule of partial reinforcement.

Skinner suggests that most behavior that we observe in people is maintained because it is reinforced in some way. The reinforcers in a person's life situations may not be readily apparent, but the behavioral viewpoint suggests that if one looks carefully enough, one is likely to find them. Specially, Skinner suggests that we must conduct a **functional analysis** of an individual's behavior. This means analyzing both situations and behaviors to identify the events that function as discriminative stimuli and reinforces.

One of the great advantages of the behavioral perspective, and especially of the functional analysis of

behavior, is that it can be readily applied to change behavior. Once it has been discovered that a person's behavior is maintained by certain reinforces can be withdrawn, leading to extinction, or used to reinforce alternative forms of behavior.

2. **Social Learning Theory**

Many psychologists have found Skinner's basic emphasis on behavior and reinforcement welcome but have found the exclusive focus on behavior too extreme. Among these people are social learning theorists who have added to their behavioral account of personality many cognitive factors. As we shall see, variables such as a person's expectancies and values are important in the social learning perspective on personality.

Basic Principles

Perhaps the social learning theorists' most important departure from strict behaviorism has been to argue that people can learn by means other than reinforcement. To account for this, they have devised the important notion of **observational learning**, the view that people often learn not only by having their own behaviors reinforced but also by observing other people perform behaviors and receive reinforcement. These other people are called **models**. For example, from observing models we can learn how to serve a tennis ball, insult strangers, or draw tulips. Sometimes we can learn how to perform a behavior by simply watching another person perform it once. In other instances we must observe many times and practice the behavior on our own extensively, as may be the case in learning how to nurture others or how to be assertive.

Observational learning is one way we might learn behaviors without reinforcement, but reinforcement remains very important in determining whether a person will actually perform a behavior. A person may have learned how to influence a group but may not engage in this behavior until some kind of reinforcement is available. This is often enough to induce the person to begin performing the behavior. However, the person will also perform the behavior because of vicarious reinforcement. Vicarious reinforcement takes place when we observe another person being reinforced for an action. It often leads us to expect that we too will be reinforced for performing the same action. For example, if we see that one of our neighbors earn money for recycling bottles, we may engage in these behaviors too, assuming of course that through observation we have learned how to perform them.

Reciprocal Interaction and Self-Efficacy

Social learning theorists see people as highly active, especially as processors of information and as self-regulating organisms actively involved in perception and interpretation. This idea is best expressed in the social learning concept of reciprocal interaction, which holds that the person and the environment affect each other. Clearly the environment affects us. We cannot ignore it. But at the same time our behavior changes the environment. For example, our friendliness produces similar reactions in others. A far different environment would be produced if we were cynical or arrogant. This implies of course that, if we wish, we can choose how we would like to affect that environment. We can try to affect it in ways that will make certain behaviors of ours more adaptive or reinforcing. For example, we can attempt to interest others in art, perhaps by showing them a few interesting paintings. If we are successful, we will have friends who like to discuss art with us, thereby creating reinforcers for our interest in art. In short, we respond to the environment but the environment responds to us as well. Illustrates the concept of **reciprocal interaction**. An important determinant of the way people respond to their environment is

their perception of their self-efficacy. **Albert Bandura**, has argued that perceived **self-efficacy**, defined as people's judgments of how well they can organize and bring to bear their cognitive, social, and behavioral skills in particular activities, is a major determinant of how fearful they are in threatening situations. Perceived self-efficacy also influences whether people will attempt to cope with problems or challenges despite their fears. One recent study shows that people who have higher perceived self-efficacywill respond to threatening communications more than will people who have lower perceived self-efficacy. Those with higher self-efficacy feel that protective actions will be effective, and so they are willing to take them. In short, the principle of reciprocal interactions argues that people can affect their environment. Whether they attempt to take effective action depends largely on their sense of perceived self-efficacy. Bandura is currently investigating how the modeling of mastery and dependable coping strategies can raise perceived self-efficacy.

Cognitive Social Learning Theory

By introducing concepts such as **observational learning** and **vicarious reinforcement**, social learning theorists have demonstrated that cognitive processes are important in a full account of learning. For example, we have to consider attention, memory, and expectancy in order to understand how people learn and to predict how they will behave. This view has been spelled out in **Walter Mischel's** "**cognitive social learning theory**". Part of Mischel's theory is that five "person variables" are important in understanding how people interact with their environment. These person variables are:

Competencies: Each person has different capacities and abilities. These may be mental abilities, such as intelligence, creativity, or memory; physical capacities, such as running speed or the ability to pitch a baseball; or artistic ability, such as singing, painting, or dancing. Our competencies affect what we can do and often what we attempt to do.

Encoding strategies and **personal constructs:** These terms refer to the ways we take in or encode information about objects and events in the environment, and to the concepts or constructs individual use to perceive and categorize other people. None of us pays attention to everything or perceives everyone else entirely accurately. However, our perceptions, accurate or not, strongly influence our behavior.

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Expectancies: It has already been noted that expectancies are key variables in determining action. Because of our experience and behavior and what we see, hear, and read about the consequences of our actions. Most important, of course, are expectancies about whether certain action will lead to reinforcement. If we expect that they will, we are more likely to perform them.

Values: What we value or find reinforcing is critical in determining our behavior. Behaviors that produce the most values outcomes for us are the behaviors we will pursue.

Self regulatory systems and **plans:** Self-regulatory systems system include self-imposed goals and aspirations, which affect behavior. They also include the standards by which we asses our behaviors. Many people regulate their own behavior by rewarding or not rewarding themselves for certain actions. Some students decide that they will treat themselves to a movie or a chocolate ice-cream soda after they finish each term paper. If they stick to these plans, they have good incentive to get their work done. Giving themselves a reward for doing the work is likely to establish a behavior pattern that matches personal standards and leads to many valued outcomes in the long run.

Although social learning theorists have integrated the variety of capacities and abilities each person has into their understanding of behavior, their focus remains on the reciprocal interaction of the person and the environment. This focus is clear in the next section, where we will consider how individuals perceive

the influence of their own behavior versus the influence of the environment on their lives.

Perceptions of the Locus of Control

Some people believe that they are masters of their own fate, while other feel that they are controlled by forces beyond their control. This idea has been studied extensively by social learning theorists **Julain Rotter**, **Jerry Phares**, and **Herbert Lefcourt**. Rotter suggested that, on the basis of their experience, individuals develop "generalized expectancies" that their reinforcements are controlled either by internal or external forces. He has devised a scale to identify whether people are "internal" or "external". This scale contains 29 pairs of statements concerning the causes of success, failure misfortune, and political events. One statement reflects a belief in internal control, the other a belief in external control. For each pair, subjects are asked to pick the statement they most agree with.
In scoring, subjects are given one point for every external choice. What are some of the ways that internals and externals differ? Generally, internals are more likely to strive to achieve. The slogan "We try harder" would fit internal more than externals. This has been shown in a number of studies. One interesting example involves tuberculosis patients in a hospital. Internals made more effort to find our about their disease, for example, what caused it and what would be done about it, and then actually tried to do something. The externals sought less information and took fewer steps to deal with their illness.

Perceived locus of control has been linked to effort in many other domains. For example, passive behavior patterns among the elderly are frequently interpreted to be senile behavior. **Langer**, however, argues that these patterns often reflect the elderly people's feeling that they have lost personal control over their environment. Studies in other areas indicated that people who perceive an internal locus of control are more likely to be involve in politics and social action.

A representative study by **Davis and Phares** gives further support to the idea that internals are more self-initiating. In this study subjects were asked to attempt to change another person's attitudes about a controversial political issue. Before they met with the person, subjects were told to job down any questions they had about the person since the answers to these questions might prove very useful in an attempt to influence someone. In addition, subjects were told what would determine success in this situation. One group was told that whether the person could be influenced was simply a matter of chance. A second group was told that persuasion depended upon their own skill. A third group was not given any information about the factors determining their success in the experiment. The experimenters predicted that, overall, internals would want more information about the person they had to persuade. They would try to act as effectively as possible because they thought that their success was based on their own efforts and behavior. The externals would not bother to find out about the person because they would tend to believe that success or failure in persuasion rested on chance.

The results of the experiment confirmed this general prediction and told a little more besides. When no information was given about the determinants of persuasion, internals asked for more information than externals, apparently assuming, as previously suggested, that their own efforts determined success. When subjects were told that success depended on skill, internals still tried harder than externals. Perhaps even this information could not overcome the external's generalized expectancy that there is little correlation between effort and success. In the condition where subjects were told that persuasion depended on luck, there was no difference in the amount of information sought by internals and externals. The internal's tendency to work harder for success was counteracted when they were given the specific expectancy that luck reigned in this particular situation.

These studies and many others show that there are important differences between people who believe that reinforcements are due to their own behavior and those who believe that outcomes are random.

Most important, the perception of an internal locus of control leads people to expend more effort to achieve their goals. Externals protect themselves to some degree by being able to blame their failures on the environment. Unfortunately, their belief that the world is beyond their control leads them to try less and fail more. You should think about your own perceptions of how outcomes are controlled. Do you sometimes give less than your best effort because you feel your best effort won't make any difference? Do you satisfy yourself with less than your best performance by blaming the environment? These behavior patterns are typical of people who perceive an external locus of control. Internals work harder and by and large are better adjusted. Sometimes, however, they blame themselves too much and may persist in efforts that only make undesirable situations worse.

Evaluation of the Behavioral Perspective

The behavioral perspective on personality has evolved a great deal since Skinner first proposed radical behaviorism. One form of the behavioral approach, social learning theory, is widely accepted and continues to evolve rapidly. The fact that this theory is closely tied to empirical research contributes to its **applicability**, **acceptability**, and **adaptability**. On the other hand, as social learning theory has adapted itself to new research and new ideas, the behavioral approach has become less distinct. There seem to be converging developments in the behavioral and trait perspectives on personality. Whether the proponents of various approaches explicitly acknowledge it, agreement on the best ways to understand individuals seem to be emerging. As you will recall, the behavioral perspective at first considered only observable variables and external determinants of behavior, such as reinforcers. Then, this position was extended into the social learning approach, which began to consider important "person variables," which are very similar to traits. In contrast, the trait perspective began by considering of situational variables. Thus, at present both social learning and trait proponents agree that internal and external variables must be considered in order to understand fully human action. Social learning theorists still emphasize concepts of reinforcement and situational control; trait theorists still emphasize what is inside the person. But there is much more agreement now than in the past. There may be even greater shared understanding in the future.

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The Humanistic Perspective

The Humanistic perspective highlights the ideas the people's behavior is shaped by their unique perceptions of the world around them and the people have the potential for growth. We will illustrate this perspective by discussing the work of Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow, two leading figures in the humanistic movement. We will see that their emphasis is on the person's internal world, his or her perceptions and feelings, and on the individual's capacity for self-actualization. **Self-actualization**, for humanistic psychologists, is the process by which a person attempts to realize fully all of his or her inner potentials.

Humanistic psychology developed largely in reaction to the perceived imbalances of the Freudian and strict behavioral perspectives on understanding the person. Psychologists such as Rogers and Maslow believed that there is more to human behavior that the simple repetition of patterns determined by unconscious dynamics during childhood, as emphasized by Freudians, and that there is more to psychology than simply predicting behaviorists. They felt that there needed to be more emphasis on what a person is like as an adult, how people perceive the world around them, how they feel, how they understand their own behavior, and how they grow and develop their full capacities. In addition, humanistic psychologists feel that more needs to be said about the positive side of human nature. They feel that within every human being there is a capacity for good and a richness and depth to personality slighted by Freudians and behaviorists. Various psychological factors, especially pressures to conform and the need to gain approval, may suppress this rich potential. Humanistic psychologists felt it important to create a "third force" that would supplement the Freudian and behavioral perspectives,

explore human potential, and learn how this potential can be more effectively realized.

Carl Rogers

One of Carl Rogers' central concepts is that of the organism or the individual person. Rogers contends that the organism strives toward maintaining, enhancing, and actualizing itself. In doing so it is drawn toward, and evaluates positively, all those experiences, feelings, and behaviors that further this goal. In contrast, the organism avoids and values negatively those experiences that constrict, reduce, or block development. In short, the organisms has a strong tendency toward enhancing and actualizing inner potential.
The organism's enhancement and actualization does not happen easily or without interference. In growing up, a child may learn a set of values from his or her parents that restrict the tendency toward self-actualization. Parents do not allow all the behaviors such as hitting a sibling when angry, dressing exactly as one pleases, or singing loudly during a church sermon. Children have strong needs for approval and affection, or, as Rogers puts it, positive regard. They quickly see that receiving positive regard may be conditional on behaving according to parental standards. Thus, behaving in ways that promote self-actualization can conflict with the need for positive regard, cramping the child's self-actualization.

A further development is that children construct a self-concept consistent with the values that they learn from their parents. The **self-concept** is an image of the self or the way one thinks about one's self. Children come to see themselves as people who generally meet parental standards. When their behavior and feelings are consistent with parental standards, their self-concepts is enhanced and they feel worthy. When they behave in unapproved ways they feel unworthy. Thus, the fact that approval is conditional on certain kinds of behavior crates **conditions of worth**. Feelings of being worthy, and of being a good person, exist only when behavior is consistent with conditions of worth.

What are the consequences of conditional positive regard, conditions of worth, and the self-concept? The organism may strive for experience that are inconsistent with the self-concept. The self-concept, in turn, may not recognize or accept these strivings. In this way the self-concept can frustrate or block the organisms' tendency toward self-actualization. It will deny feelings or urges that are contrary to the learned rules of the self-concept. There can be a great deal of conflict between the two central aspects of the person the organism and the self-concept.

How much opposition between these two aspects of the personality typically exists? It is difficult to answer this question because there are great differences between individuals. In the well-adjusted or fully functioning person, all the organism's experiences are admitted and recognized. They are seen as consistent with the overall self-concept. However, when there is substantial inconsistency between the self-concept and the organism, serious psychological problems can result. People may be out of touch with their internal worlds. They can be unable to admit what is inconsistent with their self-concept. Under these circumstances, anxiety and other disturbing symptoms may develop and therapy may be required. Rogers is perhaps best known for the widely used therapy that he developed from his theories. Its central concept is unconditional positive regard, which unlike conditional positive regard, fosters self-actualization.

Abraham Maslow

Abraham Maslow is another humanistic psychologist whose ideas have been very influential. He is best known for two contributions. The first is his theory of the hierarchy of motives. This theory of motivation views the human personality as fundamentally oriented toward self-actualization and the

development of potential. Self-actualization occurs naturally once other, more basic motives have been satisfied. Maslow's other major contribution is his research on the characteristics of self-actualized people. In this section, we will consider both of Maslow's contributions.

The Hierarchical Theory of Motivation

Maslow proposed a hierarchical theory of motivation in which "lower" needs had to be satisfied before "higher" ones could be addressed. There are five kinds of needs: physiological needs, safety needs, belongingness and love needs, esteem needs, and finally, the need for self-actualization.

Physiological needs are basic life need, such as hunger and thirst that must be satisfied before all others. If they are not met, people will direct all their resources toward satisfying them. Once physiological needs are fulfilled, safety needs can be addressed. Both physical and psychological safety are necessary to meet these needs. Maslow believed that, in general, children need safety more than adults. He noted, however, than an unfulfilled need for safety in children can become a permanent problem, since these people may continue to be highly concerned with safety as adults. These adults may feel less safe than others in identical situations and will direct much of their energy into building safety and security. This will prevent them from trying to satisfy higher needs.

People who have satisfied their psychological and safety needs can attempt to meet belongingness and love needs. These form the third step in the hierarchy. These needs include the need to be accepted by and included in groups, and the need for affection from parents, peers, and other loved once. People who feel loved and who feel their needs to be gratified can move to the next step in the hierarchy. People who do not feel that these needs have been met will focus their energies on being accepted and being loved. These people may conform excessively or act in other ways to gain acceptance and approval. These kinds of behavior may seem unbecoming to others, and thus may fail to gain positive responses.

Esteem needs are next in Maslow's hierarchy. Essentially, these needs relate to a desire to have a positive self-concept. They include the need to be competent, to achieve, to be effective, and to be free, autonomous, and independent. In addition, esteem needs include the desire to have one's achievements and competencies recognized and appreciated by others. This recognition gives one the added capacity to be effective in interactions with other people. As with other needs, people who lack positive self-esteem will be excessively concerned with gaining recognition.

The final step on the motivational hierarchy is the need for self-actualization. This is the need to develop all of one's potential sand capacities and to be all the that one can be. It includes the need to appreciate the intrinsic worth of our surroundings and to experience the world deeply. It also includes the need to grow in harmony with the world around us.

The need for self-actualization is an entirely different kind of need from the lower needs in the hierarchy. Maslow refers to the lower needs as deficiency motives. They are all stimulated by a lack or a deficit. The person experiencing them strives to get whatever it is he or she feels is missing. On the other hand, self-actualization is called a being motives or a growth motive. With this need, no specific deficit needs to be filled. The person simply wants to be and to grow as fully as possible. The need for self-actualization is never satisfied, as the other needs can be, because more growth and experiencing of the world are always possible. The need for self-actualization pulls people toward positive states rather than away from negative ones.

The Characteristics of Self-Actualizers

According to Maslow, very few people satisfy all their lower needs and reach the state where they experience no deficits, but only the need to grow, develop, experience, and appreciate. One of the most important studies in the humanistic tradition is Maslow's investigation of individuals whom he believed were self-actualized.

Maslow began by selecting historical and contemporary figure who were, in his estimation, self-actualized. These were healthy people whom Maslow felt that fully used their potentials. They included American social worker Jane Addams, physicist Albert Einstein, German composer Ludwig van Beethoven, psychologist William James, American presidents Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, first lady Eleanor Roosevelt, and American writer Henry David Thoereau. In general, Maslow found that these people had satisfied their needs for safety, belongingness, love, respect, and self-esteem and were thus primarily motivated to achieve self-acturalization. He felt that they were concerned will fulfilling all their potentials and talents, and that, compared to others, they had achieved a greater knowledge and acceptance of inner human nature. More specifically, Maslow found these healthy, self-actualized people to have the following characteristics when compared to others:

1. A superior perception of the real world around them;
2. A greater acceptance of themselves, other people, and their environment;
3. Greater spontaneity in their feelings and actions;
4. Greater focus on problems and tasks around them rather than on themselves;
5. More detachment from mundane matters and a desire for privacy;
6. More autonomy and more resistance to social pressures to conform;
7. Fresh appreciation of all that is around them, and rich emotional reactions;
8. Increased identification with all of humankind;
9. Strong and intimate interpersonal relationships with a few other people;
10. More democratic, egalitarian, and non-prejudiced attitudes;
11. Superior creativity;
12. A more deeply developed sense of values.

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Love for Self-Actualizers

Maslow has done other research on the characteristics of self-actualizers. One of his particularly interesting studies explored what self-actualized people are like in their relationships with others, especially in their intimate relationships. The subjects for the study were adults Maslow knew whom he judged to be self-actualized. He compared their relationships to those of persons who were not self-actualized.

First, Maslow found that people's needs generally determine the quality of their interpersonal relationships. For example, people primarily motivated by safety needs will seek protection and security from other people. Those motivated by esteem needs will seek recognition and respect. What does the self-actualized person look for? Maslow found that self-actualized want only to love for the sake of experience love. He stated that the self-actualized person loves another "because he is love-worthy rather than he gives out love". What differences in behavior follow from loving simply for the sake of love rather than loving to fill a specific need? One difference is that self-actualized people are more open with other people. They have less tendency to conceal information or to reveal information selectively in the interests of making a favorable impression. Other people's opinions matter relatively little to them.

Another difference is that self-actualized person are regarded as more loving and more lovable than persons who are not self-actualized. Also, self-actualizers feel sex is an integral part of love and in the context of a love relationship experience more intense and profound enjoyment of sex than do non-self-actualized people. They are not interested in sex for sex's sake and they have less need for sex but enjoy it more deeply than others.

Self-actualized persons prefer being with others who are also self-actualized, and they enjoy sharing the other person's needs and trying to find similar gratifications. Thus their relationships are characterized by mutual goals and interests, and by "fun, merriment, elation, feeling of well-being, and gaiety". Their relationships are playful and cheerful, but they still take love seriously. They experience it deeply and feel awed by its power and beauty.
Overall, self-actualized people enjoy love and experience it profoundly. At the same time, they do not need love and are not looking for anything specific from it. Love is an end itself, to be treasured when it happens. The self-actualized person enjoys love when it comes along but in the meantime relishes life's other opportunities.

Assessing Self-Actualization

In many of Maslow's studies he used his own judgment to decide which individuals were self-actualized. However, a personality inventory has also been devised in an attempt to measure self-actualization more precisely. It is called the **Personal Orientation Inventory** or **POI**. Like the internal versus external locus of control measure, it asks people to indicate which statement in a series of pairs of statements they most agree with. For example, one pair might be "My moral values are self-determined" or "I worry about the future" versus "I do not worry about the future".

Two of the majors scales of the POI measure time competence and the degree to which individuals are inner directed. Time competence refers to whether people are more concerned with the present that worried about the past or future, and whether they can integrate the present with the past and future and see how they are connected. Being inner directed means being concerned with the significance of life and with values. Self-actualizing people are thought to be both more time competent and more inner directed.

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While the POI scale is promising, more research is needed. There is evidence that people who have been in group therapy get higher scores on the POI, but more convincing support for the scale as a measure of self-actualization still needs to be collected.

Evaluation of the Humanistic Perspective

The humanistic approach has interested many psychologists who value its emphasis on the positive potential of human beings. The research supporting humanistic ideas, however, has been widely criticized. For example, many critics of Maslow's research on the characteristics of self-actualized people have argued that his selection of self-actualized people is somewhat arbitrary. While they are all individuals who achieved great things and fulfilled some potential, many of them had severe personal problem as well. Eleanor Roosevelt, for example, had extremely distressing relationships with her husband and her children, and William James and Abraham Lincoln both had many periods of deep depression. Some did not possess all of the characteristics of self-actualizers. Moreover, many of these characteristics are very difficult to define objectively and to assess. This is true of many of the concepts in humanistic psychology, such as the self-actualization concepts itself. Thus, while the humanistic perspective has played a very important role in encouraging psychology to consider the whole person and the way he or she experiences the world and strives to grow, it lacks some of the empirical objective research of the trait and social learning perspectives. In short, the ideals of humanistic psychology are

notable, but its conclusions cannot be accepted uncritically.

The Sociocultural Perspective

What findings from cultural anthropology suggest that crucial aspects or personality are culture-dependent? Conversely, what findings suggest that some important aspects of personality may be universal?

How might a culture's collectivities or individualist orientation affect the personality traits-such as loyalty, conformity and degree of self-expression-of its members?
What evidence suggest that there is cultural variation in the conception of the self?

Whatever their differences, all of the approaches to personality we have discussed thus far have one thing in common; a focus on the individual. But surely all individuals exist in a social and cultural context that is critical in shaping and defining who they are. Yet by and large personality theorists have ignored the context and focused their efforts almost entirely on the individual, whether by categorizing him (trait theory), by studying how different situations shape him (social learning theory), by trying to uncover his hidden motives (psychodynamic theory), or by celebrating his uniqueness (humanistic psychology). None of these approaches concerns itself particularly with the culture of which the person necessarily is a part. Some modern critics feel that this is a serious lack. They point out that virtually all of the data on which modern personality theory is based come from the study of middle-class western Europeans or North American. Can we really be sure that what holds true for these people can be generalized to people in different times, different places, and different cultures?

As we might expect the answer is both yes and no. For it turns out that in some regards people throughout the world are very different from each others, while in other respects they are much the same.

Human Diversity: Much of the evidence that bears on these matters comes from cultural anthropology, a discipline that studies way of living that characterize different societies through the world. An early pioneer in this enterprise was Franz Boas (1858-1942) who convinced many anthropologists to study the preliterate cultures of the world before they disappeared altogether. Among his students were Ruth Benedict (1887-1948) and Margared Mead (1901-1978) , two of the most influential figures in this area; their work documents the enormous variety of human character and personality, shaped as they are by drastically different cultural traditions.

Different Personality Patterns: Ruth Benedict's patterns of culture (1934) describes the characteristic personality patterns found in three very different preliterate societies. Among the Kwakiutl Indian of the Canadian Northwest, the dominant theme was rivalry and boastful self-glorification. Among Pueblo Indians of the American Southwest, the primary theme was self-control, cooperation, and very little aggression within the community. And among the Dobu Islanders, there was a great deal of mutual enmity and distrust, and a near-universal conviction that everyone practices sorcery against everyone else.

Other findings pointed to a variety of gender roles in different cultures. Thus Margared Mead compared the personality traits of men and women in three preliterate New Guineas tribes that lived within a hundred-mile radius of one another. Another the Arapesh, both men and women were mild, cooperative, and, so to speak, "maternal" in their attitudes toward each other and especially toward children. Among the neighboring Mundugomor, both sexes are ferociously aggressive and quarrelsome. In yet another tribe, the Tchambuli, the usual sex roles were reversed. The women were the hale and healthy breadwinners who fished and went to market unadorned. While the women managed the

worldly affairs; the men gossiped, adjusted elaborate hairdos, carved and painted and practiced intricate dance steps. Here was further evidence that the ways of modern Western society are not necessarily universal characteristics of human nature.

Of course neither Benedict nor Mead suggested that every member of given culture exhibits the pattern they described. Not every Kwakiutl was vehemently boastful not every Arapesh was gentle and cooperative. What they tried to describe is a typical and common personality pattern that characterizes a given cultural group.

Human Sameness: The anthropological evidence suggests that the typical personality patterns of the Kwakiutl, Arapesh, Ifaluk and ourselves are in many ways very different. But a number of authors point out that there are also many aspects in which the dominant personalities of there various societies must be alike, for whatever their cultural differences, they all share a common humanity.

The broad pattern of evidence thus suggests that the differences between the members of various cultures are not as unbridgeable as one might have supposed. Ironically enough, there differences may actually be a tool for discovering some universal principles of human natures. That at least is the underlying rationale of the cross-cultural, method.

Universal Patterns of Personality: Several anthropologists have criticized Benedict's and Mead's accounts as over-simplifications. For example, they take issue with some of Mead's work by pointing out that there are probably some universal sex roles after all; for example, warfare is generally conducted by the men, even among the Tchambuli. They argue that this may very well be due to biological factors. For aggression is in part under hormonal control; as androgen levels rise, both human and animal males become more aggressive. To these critics some aspects to aggression are part of our biological nature regardless of the culture we belong to. What culture does is to determine how this aggression is to be channeled and against whom, whether it is to be valued, and how much of it will be allowed.

Some other considerations concern personality traits. Let us assume that we could administer personality tests to some of the people studied by Mead and Benedict. Even granting that some of their descriptions may be overdrawn, one would still guess that the average Kwakiutl male would score much more highly on such traits as dominance and irritability than his Arapesh counterpart. To that extent, the typical personality patterns of the cultures surely differ. But one thing may still be the same; the dimensions along which these personalities vary. Some relevant evidence comes form translated personality tests administered in such diverse societies as those in Bangladesh, Brazil, Hong Kong and Japan. When the results were analysed the patters that emerged was much the same as that found in the United States and in Britain. This was especially true for Eysenck's two main dimensions of extroversion and neuroticism. This is not to say that people in these different cultures do not differ on these personality traits for the certainly do, for example extroversion score are very much higher in the United States, that in Japan. What is same is the way the responses to the items hang together; as a result the same dimensions of personality emerge. To use an analogy people come in different shapes and sizes, but their diversity can nevertheless be described by just a handful of tailor's measurements. To be sure, people in Sweden tend to be taller than people in Japan, but the same measuring tape can be used for them all.

In some ways, there results should not be surprising. Traits such as extroversion and emotional stability may well be based on built – in characteristics related to temperament which we know is in part genetically based. If so, these trait dimensions correspond to a broad framework that should in principle fit all humankind. What varies just where within this framework a particular person falls. And this in part depends on the culture of which an individual is a member.

The Indian Approach To Personality

Concept of Gunas

In Indian thought the notion of personality as an entity or totality of dispositions is not popular. The person is considered as made of dynamic and context sensitive quantities. According to one of the major perspectives of Indian thought namely Samkhya yoga all material elements are infused with the modes of nature or three **Gunas** namely **Sattva, Rajas,** and **Tamas.** Bhagvadgita states that Sattva guna includes the following attributes: cleanliness, truthfulness, gravity, dutifulness, detachment, discipline, mental equilibrium, respect for superiors, sharp intelligence, sense control, and staunch determination. The attributes of Rajas include intensive activity, desire for sense gratification, and little interest in spiritual elevation, dissatisfaction with one's position, envy for others, and a materialistic mentality. Tamas guna characterizes mental imbalance, anger, arrogance, depression, laziness, procrastination, and a feeling of helplessness. It may be noted that all the three gunas are present in each and every person in different degrees. The dominance of one or the other guna may lead to a particular type of behaviour. Perhaps the balance of the gunas is the right state of being.

Personality Testing

Measuring Personality Traits [Paper-pencil test]

In this section we will consider several **personality inventories**, tests that psychologists have devised to measure the extent to which individuals possess particular traits. Personality inventories differ from projected tests in two ways. **First**, they use unambiguous stimuli, often in the form of true-false questions about personal characteristics or behavior. In contrast, projective tests use stimuli that are purposely ambiguous and open to interpretation. **Second**, personality inventories are constructed and the results scored on the basis of research findings about the characteristics of individual who give certain responses. psychologists using projecting tests, on the other hand, depend less on established findings and more on professional experience and insight. For both of these reasons, personality inventories are called objective tests.

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The first personality inventories were devised many years ago, shortly after tests of intelligence began to flourish. During World War I a test known as the Woodworth Personal Data Sheet was used to determine which soldiers were most likely to be disabled by stress in combat. Recruits were asked whether they had symptoms such as bad dreams or fainting spells. Persons with high scores were singled out for further evaluation. In the years since the end of that war many other tests have been developed. We shall consider three of them here; the MMPI, the CPI, and the 16 PF.

The MMPI

Probably the most famous and widely used inventory of personality traits is the **Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory**, or MMPI. The MMPI was designed in the 1940s to help diagnose patients with psychological disorders. Since then it has been widely used with both **normal** and **abnormal** individuals to assess their personalities. We shall outline the steps involved in constructing the various scales of the MMPI and then discuss how it is used.

The Clinical Scales

The first step in constructing the MMPI was to choose several groups, each made up of people diagnosed as having a specific psychological disorder (such as depression, hysteria, and schizophrenia)

as well as a group of people with no previous history of psychological disorders. The latter group was called the "Minnesota Normals". Second, sets of true-false questions, or items were submitted to the normals and each of the diagnostic groups. Third, items that were answered differently by the normal and any one of the diagnostic groups were identified and selected for inclusion on the test. In selecting items, so interpretation was made of the individual's answer. All that was significant was that the item distinguished the two groups. For example, if the item, "I like poetry" was answered differently by depressed individuals and normals, it would be included in the test. Items that were not answered differently were discarded. Fourth, new questions were tested and old ones were retested to find which ones reliably differentiated the normals from the diagnostic groups. Finally, on the basis of this testing and retesting, items were organized into ten clinical scales, with eight being composed of sets of items answered differently by the normals and a particular diagonistic group. The clinical scales also included a masculinity-femininity (MF) scale composed of items answered differently be men and women, and a social introversion scale composed of items answered differently by introverts and extraverts.

The Validity Scales

When personality inventories are constructed, the issue of reliability and validity need to be addressed just as in the construction of intelligence tests. That is, there needs to be evidence that (1) people's responses are consistent at different times (reliability,) and (2) that scores on the test measure what they are intended to measure (validity). In addition, personality inventories present a special validity problem. Sometimes individuals responding to such a test will try to present a certain image of themselves by lying or distorting their answers. Three scales, called validity scales, were thus added to the MMPI to measure these tendencies. They are the lie (L), Frequency (F), and correction (K) scales.

The lie scale includes statements about standards of socially desirable behavior that almost no one measure up to. An example would be "I sometimes feel angry". If people answer "false" to this statement, they are probably lying. If a person endorses more than a few items on this scale, psychologists assume that the person is trying too hard to present a favorable self-image. This suggests that other responses on the test may be distorted and that the results as a whole may not be valid for this individual.

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The frequency scale consists of statements about negative or highly unusual behaviors. If person admit to such behaviors or feelings, it probably indicates that they were careless or confused in answering the questions, or that they are "faking bad", perhaps to attract attention and help.

The correction scale is similar to the lie scale in that it considers how much people deny common but negative behaviors or claim praiseworthy but unlikely actions. However, the statements on the correction scale are less extreme. It measures not lying so much as the extent to which people try to present themselves favorably and the extent to which they have adaptive psychological defenses. Moderate scores on the K scale are consistent with being psychologically healthy. It should also be noted that psychologists note the number of unanswered responses on the MMPI and score them simply as "Cannot say" or "?". A high number of unanswered questions may indicate evasiveness or indecisiveness.

Using the MMPI

It is probably apparent to you by now how the MMPI is used. For example, a person would score high on a scale for depression if answers to many of the scale 2 (Depression) items matched those of the depressed diagnostic group. Thus a psychologist could compare a person's scores with those of individuals with specific psychological disorders and predict whether the person has those disorders.

Actually, after four decades of experience with the MMPI, psychologists have learned that certain behavior and trait patterns correspond with various patterns of scores. For example, it is common to find people with high hypochondriasis (Hs) and hysteria (Hy) scores but low depression (D) scores. Such people do not admit or experience psychological distress, such as pain and headache. Similarly, experience has shown that severely disturbed people have high scores on scales 6, 7, and 8, while less-disturbed people have higher scores on scales 1, 2, and 3. Today the MMPI can be computer-scored and interpreted. In addition, **Gilberstadt** and **Duker** have developed an atlas describing the characteristics of people with certain psychological profiles.

While the MMPI was developed to determine the likelihood that people were suffering from certain psychological disorders, it has been widely used with normal people as well. Normal people also show typical profiles or patterns. Profiles for both these groups can be very informative.

The CPI

The California Psychological Inventory, or CPI, was constructed with the same procedures used to create the MMPI. In fact, the CPI and the MMPI use some identical items. But, unlike the MMPI, the focus of the CPI is on identifying traits that differentiate normal individuals. It measures 18 traits, such as dominance, sociability, sense of well-being, self-control, flexibility, intellectual efficiency, and achievement via independence.

Like the MMPI test items, items on the CPI were selected if they distinguished between two reference groups. Items selected to be on the MMPI scales generally must differentiate normal individuals from people with particular psychological disorders. Items selected to be on the CPI scales, however, must differentiate between two normal groups. For example, in order to compile items for the sociability scale, students of high-school and college age who were viewed by their peers as either sociable or non-sociable were compared. Items that were answered differently by these two groups were retained for the scale.

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The 16 PF

The MMPI and the CPI were both constructed by the empirical method of selecting items that discriminate different groups of people. A somewhat different approach was taken to develop a test called the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire, or 16 PF. As part of his research into personality, **Raymond Cattell** identified 16 basic personality traits and developed the 16 PF to measure the degree to which people have these traits. The questionnaire consists more than 100 items to which people give responses such as “yes” “no”, “sometimes”, or practically always”. The scale has been shown to be a valid measure of people’s standings on the 16 traits. Cattell has done a great deal of research using the 16 PF, showing, for example, that airline pilots are more tough-minded, practical, self-assured, and controlled than artists or writers. In contrast, artists and writers showed sensitivity, imagination, and intelligence. The 16 PF is often used by high-school and college counselor to help student make personal and vocational decisions.

Projective Techniques

Projective techniques are used to study the unconscious motivation of personality.

Frank (1939) defines “projective technique is a kind of X-ray into those aspects of personality which subjects either cannot or will not openly reveal. Presumably the test format allows the subject to expose core ways of organizing experience and structuring life inadvently as meanings are imposed on and

reactions made to a stimulus having relatively less structure and cultural patterning".

The definition by English and English (1958) is "The process of perceiving objective stimuli in the line with personal interests, desires and fears or expectation".

According to Lindzey, "A projective technique is an instrument that is considered especially sensitive to convert an unconscious aspect of behaviour, it permits or encourage a wide variety of subject response, it is highly multi-dimensional and it evokes usually rich response data with a minimum of subject awareness concerning the purpose of the test.

Drever (1964) defines "A projective technique is interpretations of situations and events, by reading into them our own experience and feeling". The analysis of these definitions gives us the meaning of projective techniques. It is used in clinical settings for diagnostic use with mental hospital patients. It gives a global picture of the personality of the subject of patient. It is psychological approach, which attempts to explore central and more enduring make-up of personality.

Characteristics of projective techniques:

The projective techniques are nothing but the administration of projective tests. The characteristics of projective tests are given below:

1. **Purpose of the test is disguised**: The purpose of the tests is closed to the subject otherwise he becomes test conscious and may hide his real feelings.

2. **Freedom to respond**: Full freedom is provided by the projective tests to the subject to respond to the test stimuli.

3. **No right or now wrong answer**: In the projective tests, the response of the subject are evaluated qualitatively but not scored as right or wrong answer.

4. **Ambiguous or vague test materials**: Ambiguous test material means that every subject can interpret test stimuli in his own way. In this sense, the projective tests often use ambiguous test materials to which the subject must respond freely, often, in descriptive form. Because of the stimuli are ambiguous, the subject will project their own need, feelings, and conflicts into the test situations.

5. **Evoke responses from unconscious**: Projective tests are based on the implicit assumption that the test stimuli evoke responses from unconscious of the subject. The subjects project their inner feelings and desires in the test situation.

6. **Multidimensionality of responses**: it is possible for the subject to make a great variety of responses to the test task because of the unstructured stimuli of the tests. The subject can respond on various physical, intellectual, social and emotional dimensions.

7. **Molar Approach**: It means that projective tests attempt to study the totality of behaviour. They emphasize the approach to understand the personality of the individual but they do not explore the behaviour of individual.

8. **Reliability of the tests**: There are two contradictory views as regards the reliability of the tests-one by psyhometrcians and other held by clinical psychologists. Clinical psychologists who have skill in test administration and interpretation, claim that it is highly useful and revealing test of

personality of mental patients. Thus the interpretation is dependent on the personal opinions of the testers. So, the tests may not be highly reliable.

9. **Validity of the test**: According to the clinical psychologists, the validity of the test ranges from 0.5 to 0.8 i.e., very high but according to psychometricians, validity is very low.

These are the important characteristics of the projective tests or projective techniques.

Some Important Projective tests:

There are many projective tests. Some of them are: (i) Rorschach Ink-blot test (ii) Thematic apperception test (iii) The word association test and (iv) Sentence Completion test.

We can understand all these four tests, one after another.

Rorschach Ink-Blot Test:

Rorschach Ink-blot projective technique or test is one of the most popular and individually used test. It was developed by Herman Rorschach. Perceptual approach is the basis of this test. The perception of the individual is influenced by the emotional and social make up, when he is asked to perceive a figure which is not well defined.

The test material is made up of ten ink-blot patterns. Five of these are in black and white, two are black and red, and three are multi colored.

Administration of the test: The cards are presented to the subject one at a time and in a prescribed sequence. The subject is asked to look at each card and reveal what he has seen on each card, what is might be for him and when it makes him think of. All the response are taken down verbatim. If the subject is unresponsive or does not speak anything, encouragement is given by using words like "most people has seen more than on thing". It is always better to get more than on response from the subject. After the completion of the test, doubtful points are classified with the help of the subject.

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Interpretation: Since the picture in the card itself is highly ambiguous, the subject perception of it is determined to a very large extent by his own mental nature or mental set. He is usually unaware of the motivation that prompt his responses.

The psychologist interprets the subject's response not so much by the things named by the subject, but what aspects of the picture prompted him. Some perceive that card as a 'whole', while other perceive the minute details. Some emphasize colour, others form. All these have meaning concerning the personality of the subject. Thus the actual responses are studied and scored for different points of view and set symbols are used for the most of the concepts.

Scoring: The scoring categories are named as (i) location (ii) content (iii) time (iv) determinants and (v) originality.

Location: location refers to the part of the blot or whole blot with which the subject associates each response. The symbol W,D, d and S are user for scoring the location responses. the symbols stands as follows:-

W -Indicates that the subject is seeing the card as a whole.
D -Indicates large details.
d - Indicates small details.
s - Indicates the subject's response to the white spaces within the main out lines.

Contents: This refers to what is seen by the subject and not the manner its perception. The responses of the subject are categorized as human figures, animals, objects, landscapes etc. if a person sees human figures, he is said to have vivid imagination and it reflects on his intelligence. A person, who sees animals, is said to have poor intelligence.

Time: Here time means reaction time or response time. Four types of calculations are done with respect to time, i.e., total response time, average response time, average reaction time and total reaction time. On the basis of these calculations, the personality of the subject is assessed. If the average reaction time is more than 1.5 minutes, the individual is suffering from the severe inhibitions and so on.

Determinant: Determinant refers to whether the response was determined by color, by shading, by the form and movement.

The colored cards are emotionally stimulating and response to colour shows the emotional warmth of the person and he is impulsive in nature. The response to shading is related to tact, caution used in dealing with people. Form and movement responses are expression of the subject's inner impulses.

Originality: For each of ten cards, certain responses are scored as popular by symbol P, because of their common occurrence, while some other responses are uncommon (original). The percentage of these original and popular response can be taken as the subject's level of intelligence.

To conclude, we are to depend on all the five categories of interpretation to know finally all about the person or his personality.

Thematic Apperception Test:

This test consisting of perception of certain pictures in a thematic manner revealing imaginative themes is called "Thematic Apperception Test". Ferguson describes this, commonly used projective technique under the head "The Imaginational Approach". This test was developed by Murray and Morgan.

Test Material: This test consists of 29 pictures which portray human beings in a variety of actual life situations and one blank card. These pictures are vague and indefinite. Each picture is such that it can elicit a variety of responses. Some of the pictures are for men, some for women, some for both, some for boys, some for girls, some for both, and some for common to all. For every person, we have to administer 19 cards out of 29 cards and one blank card.

Administration: The pictures one presented are at a time. The subject is told clearly that this is a test of creative imagination and that there is no right and wrong response. During the administration, cheer the subject up. As he writes the story describing that situation or the cause of that situation on the picture, he has to take care of the following aspects, while writing the story.

What is going in the picture?
What has led to this scene?
What would likely happen in such a situation?

In making up the stories, the subject unconsciously projects so many characteristics of his personality. Here each picture is to be shown for about a minute and the person is expected to write a story in 4 to 5 minutes. There is not time to think. Therefore, the stories express his own life-natural desires, likes, and dislikes, ambitions, emotions, sentiments etc. Is special value lies in its power of exploring the underlying hidden drives, complexes and conflicts of the personality. An expert examiner or researcher can know much about the personality of his subject by carefully interpreting the given responses.

Interpretation: Analysis and interpretation are to be made in one of the several ways depending upon the view point of the examiner and the purpose of testing. But in all instances, the detail of the stories must be interpreted against the facts already known about the personality being studied.

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The system of scoring and interpretation takes into account of the following: -

1. Hero of the story.
2. Needs and conflicts of the hero.
3. Theme of the story.
4. The content of the story.
5. The style of the story.
6. Unusual responses.
7. The test situation as a whole.
8. Particular emphasis on omission.
9. Subjects attitude towards authority and sex.
10. Emotional expression.
11. Outcome-conclusion of the story-happy and unhappy, comedy etc.

As a whole, the theme contributes more than single response towards interpretation. More over the global view of one's personality should be based upon the responses of all the 19 pictures and one blank card shown to the subject and the expertness of the examiner or researcher or investigator.

Word Association Test

It is one of the projective tests for studying personality. In this test, there are a number of selected words. From these words, the examiner will present a series of words, one at a time to a subject and asking him to respond as quickly as possible with the first word that comes to his mind and the tone of feelings that occur in his response may reveal something about that there is no right or wrong answer or response. The examiner then records the reply to each word spoken by him, the reaction time and any unusual speech or behaviour manifestations accompanying a given response. The contents of the response along with the other recorded thing reveal for evaluating personality.

Types of word Association Test: There are two types of word association test. They are controlled word association test and uncontrolled word association test.

Controlled word association test: in this test, the stimuli or the words are controlled or selected by means of providing expected particular reply or response from the subject. The subject is given word and is asked to reply antonym or synonym. There is a restriction in this type of test.

Uncontrolled word association test: In this test, the response from the subject is not controlled. The subject is given a word and is asked to reply any first word that comes to his mind spontaneously. The interpretation of the tests depends on two factor i.e. the response or more repetition of the stimulus word and the reaction time. Inability to make any response or more repetition of the stimulus word indicate one's emotional blockings. In the test situation, if the subject gives a quick response word it is assumed that unconscious processes direct the association.

Though the test is not so much as the Rorchach Ink-blot test or Thematic Apperception Test, it is very useful in certain situation where the effect of unconscious processes on a specific activity is involved.

Sentences-Completion Tests

This test consists of a list of incomplete sentences, generally open at the end and requires completion by the subject. He is asked to go through the list and answers as quickly as possible without giving a second thought to his answers. He can complete these sentences in any way as he likes. On the basis of these

responses, the psychologist records, observation which indicate unhealthy or conflicting, healthy or positive attitude etc. Stimulus in the form of the following words may be presented by any individual.

i. I wish to became……..
ii. My teacher……
iii. My principal…….

They can be complete the above mentioned incomplete sentences in many ways or in any way. From these answers, we can assess the personality of the individual.

The sentences completion tests are considered as superior to Word Association. Test because the subject may respond with more than one word. It is also possible to have greater flexibility and variety of responses and more area personality.

Thus Rorschach Ink-blot test, Thematic Apperception test, Word Association Test and Sentence Completion Tests are used to assess the personality of any individual.

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